

Text of Address by President to U. S. Editors

Following is the text of President Kennedy's speech yesterday at the convention in Washington of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, as recorded by The New York Times.

The President of a great democracy such as ours and the editors of great newspapers such as yours owe a common obligation to the people—an obligation to present the facts, to present them with candor and to present them in perspective.

It is with that obligation in mind that I have decided in the last twenty-four hours to discuss briefly at this time the recent events in Cuba.

On that unhappy island, as in so many other arenas of the contest for freedom, the news has grown worse instead of better.

I have emphasized before that this was a struggle of Cuban patriots against a Cuban dictator. While we could not be expected to hide our sympathies, we made it repeatedly clear that the armed forces of this country would not intervene in any way.

Any unilateral American intervention in the absence of an external attack upon ourselves or an ally would have been contrary to our traditions and to our international obligations. But let the record show that our restraint is not inexhaustible.

Should it ever appear that the inter-American doctrine of noninterference merely conceals or excuses a policy of non-action; if the nations of this hemisphere should fail to meet their commitments against outside Communist penetration, then I want it clearly understood that this Government will not hesitate in meeting its primary obligations, which are the security of our nation.

'Bloody Streets of Budapest'

Should that time ever come, we do not intend to be lectured on intervention by those whose character was stamped for all time on the bloody streets of Budapest. Nor would we expect or accept the same outcome which this small band of gallant Cuban refugees must have known that they were chancing, determined as they were, against heavy odds, to pursue their courageous attempts to regain their island's freedom.

But Cuba is not an island unto itself. The crisis is not ended with mere expressions of nonintervention or regret. This is not the first



Associated Press Wirephoto

BEFORE KENNEDY SPOKE: The President with Turner Catledge, president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors and managing editor of The New York Times, yesterday in Washington. Mr. Kennedy's speech before the newspaper group was carried on the radio and television.

That is not the reply of a mercenary. He has gone now to join in the mountains countless other guerrilla fighters who are equally determined that the dedication of those who gave their lives shall not be forgotten and that Cuba must not be abandoned to the Communists. And we do not intend to abandon it either.

Final Word Unspoken

The Cuban people have not yet spoken their final piece, and I have no doubt that they and the Revolutionary Council, led by Dr. Cardona—and members of the families of the Revolutionary Council—I am informed by the doctor yesterday, are involved themselves in the island will continue to speak out for a free and independent Cuba.

Meanwhile, we will not accept Mr. Castro's attempt to blame this nation for the time supporters now regard his repression. But there are from this sobering episode

this nation, in concert with all the free nations of this hemisphere, must take an ever closer and more realistic look at the menace of external Communist intervention and domination in Cuba.

The American people are not complacent about Iron Curtain tanks and planes less than ninety miles from their shore, but a nation of Cuba's size is less a threat to our survival than it is a base for subverting the survival of other free nations throughout the hemisphere.

It is not our interest or our security but theirs which is now today in the greater peril. It is for their sake as well as our own that we must show our will. The evidence is clear and the hours is late.

We and our Latin friends will have to face the fact that we cannot postpone any longer the real issue of survival of this hemisphere itself. On this issue, unlike perhaps some others, there can be no middle ground.

Power is the hallmark of this offensive—power and discipline and defeat. The legitimate discontent of yearning people is exploited. The legitimate trappings of self-determination are employed, but once in power all talk of discontent is repressed. All self-determination disappears and the promise of a revolution of hope is betrayed, as in Cuba, into a reign of terror.

Those who, on instruction, staged automatic riots in the streets of free nations over the efforts of a small group of young Cubans to regain their freedom should recall the long roll-call of refugees who cannot now go back to Hungary, to North Korea, to North Vietnam, East Germany or to Poland, or to any of the other lands from which a steady stream of refugees poured forth in eloquent testimony to the cruel oppression now holding sway in their homeland.

We dare not fail to see the insidious nature of this new and deeper struggle. We dare not fail to grasp the new concept, the new tools, the new sense of urgency we will need to combat it, whether in Cuba or South Vietnam. And we dare not fail to realize that this struggle is taking place every day without fanfare in thousands of villages and markets day and night and in classrooms all over the globe.

The message of Cuba, of Laos, of the rising din of Communist voices in Asia and Latin America, these messages are all the same. The complacent, the self-indulgent, the soft societies, are about to be swept away with the debris of history. Only the strong, only the industrious, only the determined, only the courageous, only the visionary who determine the real nature of our struggle can possibly survive.

Traditional Outlook

No greater task faces this country or this Administration, no other challenge is more deserving of our every effort and energy. Too long we have fixed our eyes on traditional military needs; on armies prepared to cross borders; on missiles poised for flight. Now it should be clear that this is no longer enough; that our security may be lost piece by piece, country by country, without the firing of a single missile or the crossing of a single border.

We intend to profit from this lesson. We intend to re-examine and reorient our policies and our institutions here in this community. We intend